

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY ROME
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
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AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY VALLETTA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 177231

ROME FOR AMBASSADOR LODGE'S OFFICE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE

SUBJECT: CONSULTATIONS WITH NEUTRALS ON CSCE
IMPLEMENTATION

REF: (A) 75 STATE 239977; (B) STATE 29999

1. WE WISH TO CONTINUE OCCASIONAL CONSULTATION AND EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION WITH CERTAIN NEUTRAL STATES ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION. THEREFORE, YOU SHOULD, AS PREVIOUSLY, MAKE LOW-KEY PRESENTATION TO WORKING LEVEL OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE FOR CSCE, DRAWING ON FOLLOWING POINTS AND INDICATING THAT WE HOPE TO CONTINUE COMPARING NOTES WITH HOST GOVERNMENT DURING PERIOD LEADING UP TO BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS. AS IN EARLIER EXCHANGES, YOU SHOULD EXPLAIN THAT THESE ITEMS ARE AMONG MOST SIGNIFICANT CSCE DEVELOPMENTS OF WHICH WE ARE AWARE, AND THAT WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN VIEWS OF HOST GOVERNMENT ON CSCE ACTIVITIES.

2. --A. BILATERAL APPROACHES. US HAS CONTINUED PRIVATELY TO RAISE BILATERAL QUESTIONS RELATED TO CSCE IMPLEMENTATION IN MOSCOW AND EASTERN EUROPEAN CAPITALS, PARTICULARLY HUMANITARIAN ISSUES SUCH AS FAMILY VISITS AND REUNIFICATIONS AND BI-NATIONAL MARRIAGES. WE HAVE

SOUGHT TO ADDRESS THESE MATTERS IN NON-POLEMIC FASHION. THERE HAS BEEN RESOLUTION OF SOME INDIVIDUAL CASES BUT WE CONTINUE TO SEE FEW BASIC CHANGES IN THE ESSENTIAL APPROACH OF THE USSR OR THE EASTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS TO THESE ISSUES.

--B. PRINCIPLES DECLARATION. SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN SPOKESMEN CONTINUE TO STRESS CERTAIN PRINCIPLES
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SUCH AS INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS AND NON-INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, WHILE DOWNPLAYING OTHER PRINCIPLES SUCH AS HUMAN RIGHTS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT SEVERAL SOVIET DISSIDENTS IN USSR HAVE FORMED A GROUP TO MONITOR SOVIET COMPLIANCE WITH THE CSCE, ESPECIALLY IN FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS. US WAS GRATIFIED THAT ALMOST ALL WESTERN CSCE STATES OPPOSED CUBAN-YUGOSLAV "COMPROMISE" HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION, WHICH WAS LINKED TO CSCE, AT UN HRC MEETING IN GENEVA FEBRUARY 2-MARCH 5. WE LATER PROTESTED TO THE YUGOSLAVS THAT THEIR ACTION WAS ATTEMPT TO REINTERPRET A CSCE TEXT AGREED BY CONSENSUS, AND TO SUBMIT A DISTORTED VERSION TO MAJORITY VOTE IN NON-CSCE FORUM. (NOTE: BELGRADE MAY OMIT THIS ITEM FROM PRESENTATION SINCE DEMARCHE ALREADY MADE.)

--C. ECPC. TREATMENT OF CSCE IN FINAL DOCUMENT OF ECPC IS ANOTHER BROAD ATTEMPT TO REINTERPRET AND DISTORT SIGNIFICANCE OF CSCE FINAL ACT. THE ECPC DOCUMENT STATES THAT "THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE AGREEMENTS REACHED IN HELSINKI DEPENDS, TO A DECISIVE EXTENT, ON HOW CONSISTENTLY AND STRICTLY ALL PARTICIPATING STATES OBERVE THE 10 PRINCIPLES WHICH THEY AGREED UPON, AND IMPLEMENT ALL PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT WHICH FORM A COHERENT WHOLE." BUT THE ECPC DOCUMENT GOES ON TO GIVE INTERPRETATIONS OF SUBJECTS TREATED IN CSCE WHICH DO NOT ACCORD WITH THE AGREED CSCE PROVISIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE DOCUMENT CALLS FOR EXPANDED COOPERATION AMONG STATES IN KEEPING WITH THE PRINCIPLES AND ACCORDS IN THE CSCE FINAL ACT "WHICH PRESUPPOSES APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF MOST-FAVORED-NATION TREATMENT," WHEREAS THE CSCE FINAL ACT MERELY RECOGNIZES THE "BENEFICIAL EFFECTS WHICH CAN RESULT...FROM THE APPLICATION OF MFN TREATMENT." SIMILARLY, THE ECPC DOCUMENT SINGLES OUT THE UN INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR "RATIFICATION AND STRICT OBSERVANCE," AND FAILS TO MENTION THE MORE FAR-REACHING UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE CSCE FINAL ACT SPECIFICALLY COMMITS STATES TO "ACT IN CONFORMITY...WITH THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS," AND GIVES THE COVENANTS A SECONDARY ROLE. THE ECPC DOCUMENT ALSO UNDERCUTS THE CSCE COMMITMENT "TO FACILITATE THE FREER
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AND WIDER DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION OF ALL KINDS" THROUGH ITS QUALIFIED LANGUAGE ON THE MASS MEDIA: "TO ENSURE THAT MASS MEDIA EVERYWHERE WILL, ON THE BASIS OF OBJECTIVE INFORMATION, BE PLACED IN THE SERVICE OF MUTUAL ACQUAINTANESHIP, THE DISSEMINATION OF IDEAS FOR A BETTER UNDERSTANDING AND THE STRENGTHENING OF AN ATMOSPHERE OF TRUST AND COOPERATION AMONG PEOPLES." THESE AND OTHER INTERPRETATIONS CONTRADICT THE ECPC DOCUMENT'S "CALL FOR THE STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRINCIPLES AND ACCORDS WHICH ARE CONTAINED IN THE FINAL ACT OF THE CSCE" AND HAVE THE EFFECT OF DISTORTING THE CSCE FINAL ACT.

--D. MANEUVER NOTIFICATION. SINCE BEGINNING OF 1976 US TROOPS PARTICIPATED IN MANEUVER IN NORWAY OF WHICH NORWAY GAVE NOTIFICATION; MANEUVER INVOLVED 17,000 TROOPS AND TOOK PLACE FEBRUARY 26 TO MARCH 22. THIS BRINGS TOTAL OF US AND OTHER ALLIED MANEUVER NOTIFICATIONS TO SEVEN. ON MAY 24, SOVIET UNION NOTIFIED US OF MAJOR MANEUVER CALLED "NORTH" INVOLVING ABOUT 25,000 TROOPS NEAR THE FINNISH BORDER ON JUNE 14-18. TOGETHER WITH CAUCASUS MANEUVER THAT TOOK PLACE JANUARY 25-FEBRUARY 6, THIS MARKS SECOND MAJOR MANEUVER NOTIFICATION BY SOVIETS. ADDI-

TIONALLY, ON APRIL 5, HUNGARY INFORMED US OF A 10,000 TROOP MANEUVER THAT BEGAN ON APRIL 6, AND RELATED THEIR ACTION TO CSCE. DESPITE THE BRIEF NOTIFICATION PERIOD, THIS WAS THE FIRST ACTION BY A WARSAW PACT MEMBER COUNTRY RELATING TO A MANEUVER UNDER 25,000.

--E. OBSERVER INVITATIONS. USSR INVITED OBSERVERS FROM TURKEY, GREECE, YUGOSLAVIA, RUMANIA AND BULGARIA TO VIEW CAUCASUS MANEUVER. PATTERN OF SOVIET INVITATIONS ON BASIS OF PROXIMITY TO MANEUVER AREA WAS REPEATED FOR "NORTH" MANEUVER BY INVITING NORWAY, POLAND, GDR, FINLAND AND SWEDEN. BOTH GROUPS OF FIVE COUNTRIES INVITED TO MANEUVERS REPRESENTED A BALANCED MIX OF NATO, NEUTRAL AND WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES.

--F. "BREZHNEV PROPOSALS." WE VIEWED SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCES ON ENERGY, TRANS-CONFIDENTIAL

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PORTATION AND ENVIRONMENT AS GRANDIOSE GESTURE, LIKELY TO BE DEVOID OF SUBSTANCE AND INTENDED TO CONVEY IMPRESSION THAT THE SOVIETS ARE TAKING CSCE SERIOUSLY WHILE DIVERTING ATTENTION FROM CONCRETE IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES. WE BELIEVE ECE REACHED CORRECT DECISION IN REMANDING PROPOSALS TO STUDY BY INDIVIDUAL STATES WHILE MOVING FORWARD UNDER ITS CSCE MANDATE ON LIMITED NUMBER OF SPECIFIC, NARROWLY DEFINED PROJECTS. IN OUR VIEW, ECE SHOULD WORK FIRST TOWARD CONCRETE IMPLEMENTATION PROGRESS UNDER ITS AGREED FINAL ACT MANDATE.

- -G. RADIO BROADCASTING. SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN CAMPAIGN CONTINUES AGAINST RFE AND RL--AND OCCASIONALLY VOA--BROADCASTS AS BEING CONTRARY TO CSCE. AT SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN INITIATIVE, RFE PRESS ACCREDITATION WAS REVOKED AT WINTER GAMES BY INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE ON A TECHNICALITY. WE VIGOROUSLY PROTESTED THIS ACTION IN CONTEXT OF CSCE. WE UNDERSTAND THAT MANAGEMENT OF RFE, AS WELL AS RADIO LIBERTY, TOOK STEPS TO AVOID ACCREDITATION DIFFICULTIES FOR SUMMER GAMES IN MONTREAL. IOC VOTED ACCREDITATION JULY 14. DESPITE SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN OPPOSITION. US CONGRESS HAS PASSED RESOLUTION ON OLYMPIC GAMES AND FREEDOM OF PRESS, WHICH REFERS TO RFE ACCREDITATION REVOCATION AND CSCE. WE REJECT PROPOSITION THAT BROADCASTS BY US RADIOS ARE CONTRARY TO CSCE. THESE AND ALL OTHER BROADCASTS ARE IN ACCORD WITH FINAL ACT STIPULATION THAT CSCE STATES ARE COMMITTED TO FACILITATE FREER AND WIDER DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION "OF ALL KINDS." LANGUAGE ON RADIO BROADCASTING IN FINAL ACT EXPRESSES HOPE FOR CONTINUED EXPANSION OF DISSEMINATION OF RADIO BROADCAST INFORMATION, WHICH SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED THROUGH FURTHER REDUCTIONS IN RADIO JAMMING, NOT THROUGH PROPAGANDA

ATTACKS ON RADIOS.

--H. INFORMATION EXCHANGE. USSR AND EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES HAVE DEVELOPED A POSITION THAT IS BASED ON RECIPROCITY, BY CLAIMING MORE WESTERN BOOKS AND FILMS ARE AVAILABLE IN THE EAST, THAN EASTERN BOOKS AND FILMS IN THE WEST. HOWEVER, MOST WESTERN BOOKS AVAILABLE IN EAST ARE TECHNICAL WORKS OR CLASSICS.
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WESTERN FILMS SELECTED BY COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS ARE USUALLY CRITICAL OF WEST OR ARE HARMLESS ENTERTAINMENT-TYPE FEATURES. SIMULTANEOUSLY SOVIETS IN THEIR COMPARISONS EXCLUDE BEST-SELLING SOVIET AUTHORS, SUCH AS PASTERNAK, SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY DISLIKE THE VIEWS OF THESE AUTHORS. SOVIETS ALSO APPARENTLY DO NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT LARGE NUMBER OF RUSSIAN CLASSICS BY SUCH AUTHORS AS TOLSTOY, DOSTOEVSKY, PUSHKIN, ETC., WHICH ARE WIDELY DISSEMINATED IN WEST. ALTHOUGH SOVIETS ANNOUNCED THAT NUMBER OF FOREIGN NEWSPAPERS AVAILABLE IN USSR HAD EXPANDED BY 18, SUCH NEWSPAPERS REMAIN GENERALLY AVAILABLE IN SMALL QUANTITIES ONLY IN PLACES FREQUENTED BY WESTERNERS. WE HAVE SEEN NO ESSENTIAL CHANGE IN AVAILABILITY OF NEWSPAPERS AND NEWS MAGAZINES TO GENERAL PUBLIC IN EASTERN EUROPE AND USSR. WE BELIEVE THAT THRUST OF CSCE IS TO REMOVE BARRIERS TO FLOW OF INFORMATION, AND THAT PEOPLE, NOT STATES, SHOULD DETERMINE WHAT THEY READ AND SEE.

DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY IN RECENT MONTHS RELATED TO FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS. WE HAVE FOUND A VARIETY OF IDEAS, MOST OF WHICH ARE IN FORMATIVE STAGES. DEGREE OF IMPLEMENTATION BY ALL CSCE STATES WILL PLAY KEY ROLE IN US ATTITUDE TOWARD BELGRADE MEETINGS. WE WILL BE INTERESTED IN RECEIVING VIEWS OF HOST GOVERNMENT ON FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS, WHICH WILL BE HELPFUL TO US IN FORMING OUR OWN APPROACH.

--J. CSCE COMMISSION. ON JUNE 3, THE PRESIDENT SIGNED INTO LAW BILL CREATING CSCE COMMISSION COMPOSED OF SIX SENATORS, SIX REPRESENTATIVES AND ONE PRESIDENTIALLY-APPOINTED MEMBER EACH FROM THE DEPARTMENTS OF STATE, DEFENSE AND COMMERCE. GOALS OF COMMISSION ARE TO MONITOR CSCE IMPLEMENTATION AND TO ENCOURAGE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS RELATED TO CSCE. SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN MEDIA HAVE ATTACKED COMMISSION ON GROUNDS THAT ITS ACTIVITIES WILL FOCUS ON BASKET III ISSUES AND WILL THEREBY UPSET BALANCE OF FINAL ACT AND INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CSCE STATES. SOVIETS HAVE OFFICIALLY EXPRESSED TO US THEIR CONCERN ABOUT THE COMMISSION. WE TOLD THEM CREATION OF COMMISSION WAS CONGRESSIONAL INITIATIVE WHICH INDICATES
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INTEREST OF CONGRESS IN CSCE.

3. FOR NATO: YOU MAY INFORM ALLIES IN POLADS THAT US
IS EMBARKING ON ANOTHER ROUND OF COMPARING NOTES ON
CSCE IMPLEMENTATION WITH CERTAIN NEUTRAL STATES. YOU MAY
ALSO PROVIDE OUTLINE OF FOREGOING PRESENTATION.
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